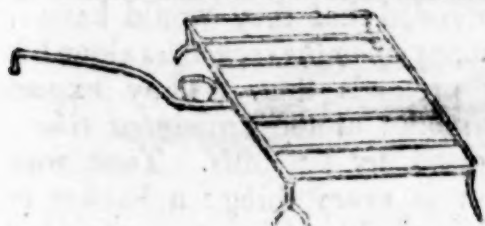


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"When some escape for that which others die,
"Mercy to those to these is cruelty."

DENHAM.

HUNTON.

Barn-Elm Farm, 10th December, 1828.

It is a long time since so much stir, and so much *humanity*, real or pretended, have been going on in this wicked *Wen*, as that which we have witnessed since the above-named Quaker was condemned to death. He was accused of the crime of forgery; he was apprehended on board of an American ship, which was bound to America; he was found disguised in the dress of a man of war, called a sailor. He had corresponded with some friend or relation, under a false or forged name; this correspondence led to his apprehension; and it was by a mere accident, by the mere effect of contrary winds, that he was detained within the jurisdiction of the court in which he was tried. He was finally tried at the OLD BAILEY, convicted of the crime of forgery, and he was hanged on Monday last, the 8th of December.

It is said that a petition to the King for the pardon of this man, and signed by upwards of five thousand "*respectable persons*," that is to say, according to present notions, persons having or appearing to have considerable property, was presented some days after his condemnation. The petition had no effect; and the QUAKER was hanged as above mentioned. A great deal has been said in several of the newspapers in disapprobation of the Government relative to this matter; but, though I am not uncommonly prone to express approbation of its conduct, I think it my duty to say plainly, that I greatly approve of its justice and firmness in this instance. As long as the man was

alive, I suffered the publications upon the subject to go on, without ever once noticing them, either in print or in conversation; and I was the more strongly inclined to do this, because HUNTON belonged to a sect, the whole of which, I anxiously wish to see put down for ever. My mind was made up from the moment I read an account of the trial; but, as life was at stake, and as the expression of my opinion, such as I now give it, and backed with the reasons which I shall state in support of it, might, by possibility, have tended to turn the scale against the criminal, I suppressed, for the time, the expression of that opinion. But, as I should have thought it my duty to censure in terms as strong as I could have made use of in safety, the conduct of the Government if it had given way to this species of clamorous humanity, I should be ashamed of myself, for the real injustice which I should commit, were I to remain silent upon the subject, now that the poor Quaker's life can no longer be affected by what I say, and that the Government itself is so loudly accused, and in some sort put upon its trial, by this general cry of humanity. It is very happy for mankind that no government has yet thought proper to take away the prerogative of pardoning, it would be even a greater evil than to take away the prerogative altogether, if the person exercising it were to yield as a *matter of course*, to numerous signed petitions in favour of a criminal; for then the rich, or richly-connected would always escape, and the poor would never escape: to be rich would in a short time be tantamount to living in a state of impunity, while the poor man would always be looking upon himself as having a halter about his neck; and against such a government, every man would have a right to conspire and rebel. Such a government would not only be a tyranny, but a tyranny of the very worst sort.

The case of this QUAKER was as follows. He forged certain bills of ex-

change, and got the money for them at the bank of CURTIS, ROBERTS & Co., in London. The forgery was proved as clearly as daylight; and, indeed, it was not denied by the criminal himself; but it has been alleged, and he himself asserted, that, at the time when he got the money for the bills, he lodged with the bankers certain deeds, bonds, or other papers, as *collateral security* for the payment of the bills when due; and that as the Act of Parliament which describes the crime of *forgery*, specifies that it must be committed with *intention to defraud*, he could not have such intention, seeing that the securities gave to the bankers more property than the amount of the bills for which they had given him the money.

Now, how fallacious this is would appear in a moment to every one, if it were observed, that, if he were to be excused on this account, he *had committed no crime at all*; and that, to have transported him, or even to punish him by imprisonment, would have been unjust and contrary to law. If he did not intend to defraud, why did he forge? Why did he not go and offer the securities as something to borrow the money upon? When he gave the *securities*, as they are called, it was because he suspected that he could not have got the money without them. He gave them, it is said, as *collateral* to the bills; as *collateral* observe to bills which the bankers regarded as not having been forged. They discounted the bills, because they had this *collateral* security. By the act of forgery he deprived them of the *primary* security, and left them with nothing but the *collateral*; and if he did not here commit *fraud*, when was fraud ever committed in this world?

I am supposing, all this while, that the *securities themselves were not forged*: that they were real, and that they were worth the amount of the bills. I do not care about that; for it makes neither for nor against the Quaker. The bankers lent their money expecting to have it back again, at a certain time named in the bills. They would not have lent it at all, if they had believed or suspected that the bills had been forged. Being

made to believe that the bills were not forged, they were *deceived*, and they were deprived of their money by "wile or trick," which means to defraud. Is it pretended that they would have lent the money *upon the securities* alone? Nobody pretends that. They expected their money at the *appointed time*, as expressed by the bills. Time with a banker is every thing: a banker may be compelled to stop payment with his chest full of *collateral securities*. The QUAKER knew this as well as any man; and therefore the collateral securities which he tendered, and which, it appears, were received, served merely as the means of rendering his forgeries successful: the lodging of the securities was a deceit, a trick, and artifice; and these are all synonymous with *fraud*. The lodging of the securities, as they are called, naturally took away, or neutralized for the moment the caution of the banker, and probably prevented those inquiries which he would have made previously to advancing the money; and, therefore, not only the forgery was committed with a fraudulent intention, but the lodging of the securities was also an act of fraud: it was an act of deceit, an artifice; it was deceitful and treacherous; and was subsidiary to the forgery itself.

If HUNTON had not been conscious of this himself; if he had thought himself innocent, and that he had merely played CURTIS *all in the quiet*, a harmless first of April trick, why did he *flee* for it? Why did he disguise himself in the habit of a *man of war*? Why did he correspond with *friends* on shore under a forged name? and why, in short, did he go on board the ship? A few months later would have made him quite time enough to be at the yearly meeting at Philadelphia; for that does not take place until first or second day of fifth month. Oh no! this story will never do: he got the money fraudulently, by the means of forgery; and if he had been pardoned, I should have thought, though I should not have dared to say it, that this Government had been committing horrid wilful murders all over the kingdom ever since I was born.

But, those who have written upon this subject, as well as those who have been petitioning, I suppose; at any rate, in conversation and in writing, great fault has been found with the LAW, under which this QUAKER has been hanged by the neck until he was dead. This, is quite another matter: this is a matter with which this QUAKER and his case have nothing at all to do: this is a question which must be discussed upon its own merits; and not at all connected with the QUAKER and his case. The law has been said to be *too severe*; that the punishment that it allots is, beyond all measure, too great for the offence. Now, this is what I have been contending for, for years; and I have repeatedly had to observe, that the punishment of death for forgery is one of the deepest disgraces that the paper-money system has brought into this country; while, it is also a striking instance of the departure from the mild laws of our forefathers, which departure has become so extensive, that it threatens to leave us not a fragment of those laws.

"The Laws of England," always the pride and boast of our fathers, and our boast too, though we have lost the far greater part of them, knew nothing of the punishment of death for forgery. For forgery of no kind, not even of wills or of deeds. The punishment was the payment of damages to the party injured, and of fine to the King; and thus it continued from the days of OFFA and ALFRED, until after the arrival of that happy event the "*Protestant Reformation*." Until that event, the lending of money for increase or interest, was unknown to Christian Englishmen; and, tolerated in nobody but in blaspheming Jews. Soon after the law allowed Christians to lend money at interest it was found necessary to restrain them a little from forging, forgery and usury being a brace of twin-devils, littered by the same dam. Therefore, in the fifth year of "*good Queen Bess*," and in the fourteenth chapter of the Acts of Parliament of that year, provision was made for clipping off the ears, splitting the noses, and burning of the cheeks of these gifted children of the "*Reformation*."

The Act set forth, that "Forasmuch as the wicked, pernicious, and dangerous practice of making false charters, evidence, deeds, and writings, hath of late time been very much more practised in all parts of this realm, than in times past, not only to the high displeasure of God, but also to the great injury of the Queen's Majesty's subjects of this realm, which seemeth to have grown and happened chiefly by reason, that the punishments limited for such great and notable offences, by the laws and statutes of this realm, have, before this time, been, and yet are, so small, mild, and easy, that such evil people have not been, nor yet are, afraid to enterprise the practising and doing of such offences."

Though good BETSEY and her reformation-people in the Parliament did not step aside, for a moment, to inquire how it came to pass that the "*small, mild, and easy, punishments*," which had done very well before the Reformation, were now become quite inefficient to restrain these evil people, though the nation had become so godly, and had so successfully cast off "*monkish ignorance and popish superstition*." But, at any rate, Betsey and her Parliament resolved that these small mild and easy punishments should continue no longer; and they, therefore, enacted that every forger "should pay unto every party aggrieved his double costs and damages, should be set upon the pillory in some open market-town, there to have both his ears cut off, and also his nostrils to be slit and cut, and seared with a hot iron, so that they may remain as a perpetual note or mark of his falsehood, and shall forfeit to the Queen our Sovereign Lady, her heirs, and successors, the whole issues of his lands and tenements during his life; and also shall suffer and have perpetual imprisonment during his life." For a second offence, the party was to be deemed a felon, and to suffer the pains and penalty of felony.

This was pretty tight on the part of good BETSEY, whose reformed subjects had no longer to complain that the punishments for this offence were so "*small*,"

mild, and easy." They must have been pretty enterprising reformation-men, to be sure, to be liable to commit a second offence, after their ears had been cut off, their noses split, their cheeks burned with a red-hot iron, and *their bodies shut up in prison for life!* Their having got rid of "monkish ignorance and superstition" must have made them all at once uncommonly active, enlightened, and enterprising; but, to do justice to BETSEY, she never thought and appears never to have dreamed of cutting off the ears and slitting and searing of nose, for the forging of mere paper-kites, the validity of which might be ascertained in a moment by the party receiving them, or might be refused to be taken by him. BETSEY's punishments were confined to the forging of deeds, charters, sealed writings, court rolls, written wills, to the intent "that the state of freehold or inheritance in lands, tenements, hereditaments, freehold or copyhold, or the right, title, or interest of any person, of or to the same, shall be molested, troubled, defeated, recovered, or charged." So that, these horrible punishments were for a very grave offence; an offence against which the party injured had no probable means of self-protection. These punishments were to prevent men from being robbed of their estates, widows of their dower, and children of their inheritance; acts which appear to have been wholly unknown, or nearly so, before the happy people got rid of monkish ignorance and superstition. It is clear from the preamble of this Act of Parliament, that these atrocious crimes became common as soon as the Catholic religion ceased to exist in England; but the Quaker might have forged *all in the quiet*, even after the passing of this Act, it never having as yet entered into the heart of man or woman, even this sanguinary woman herself, to make death the punishment for forging a name to a paper, which the party receiving it might reject at his pleasure; might first inquire into the nature of; might first verify the signature; and which, if he took it at all, he took it at his own option, and took also for the getting of money by it.

BETSEY's law remained until the year 1729, which was the second year of the reign of GEORGE the SECOND. In the Act which is Chap. 25 of that year, when the national debt had amounted to fifty-two millions, and the annual taxes to five millions and a half, and when bank notes and bills began to fly about amongst the Quakers, something a little tighter even than BETSEY's law was found to be necessary. That Act sets out with saying, that, "Whereas the wicked, pernicious, and abominable crime of forgery hath in *late time* been so much practised to the subversion of common truth and justice, and PREJUDICE of TRADE and CREDIT, it is necessary to inflict a more exemplary punishment, than by the laws of this realm can now be done." The Act then goes on to state that the punishment of death shall be inflicted for the "counterfeiting of any deed, will, testament, bond, writing obligatory, bill of exchange, promissory note for the payment of money, endorsement or assignment of any bill of exchange, or promissory note, or any acquittance or receipt either for money or for goods."

All these things, designated by italic letters, form an addition to those mentioned in BETSEY's law. In another Act for raising money by Loan, 4 Geo. 2. Cap. 9, it is made death to forge any orders or assignments of the stock created by this Act. Another Act was passed in the seventh year of the same king, providing a little more death for persons convicted of forging or altering the acceptance of bills of exchange. In fifty or, perhaps, five hundred Acts of Parliament, passed since that time, the punishment of death is awarded to the forger. In almost all the Stamp Acts; and, in short, in almost every Act connected with the revenue, the forger is in some part or other of it, marked out for the rope.

Such is the history of the law relative to forgery. I have always looked upon this law as improved upon since the days of BETSEY as one of the greatest stains upon the character of the country. Yet, it is not to be denied that the blood which it causes to be shed is

necessary to the support of the system. I, who wish to see bank-notes and bills of exchange and all their collaterals, driven down to the place from whence they sprang, detest these laws of blood; but, will those five thousand "*respectable merchants*," and others of the city of London, who petitioned for the sparing of the life of Brother HUNTON; will these join in a petition to *abolish this sanguinary code*? Will they join in a petition that we may be taken back to the days of our *Catholic ancestors*; when the punishments for forgery were so "*small, mild, and easy*"? No! not they indeed; for their paper kites would not be worth a penny the next day. Will they even join in a petition that we may be taken back to the law of *good Protestant BETSEY*, who contented herself (for the first offence at least) with the cutting off the ears of the forger, splitting and searing his nose, and shutting him up for life, and with confining even this punishment to the forging of writings for the purpose of defrauding persons of their rights of real property? No! these sons of *humanity* will do no such thing as this; and if you were to ask them to do it, they will screw up a sigh from that part of their bodies where their hearts ought to be, and will tell you that the punishment of death for forgery is necessary for the support of *trade and credit*.

I would rather that HUNTON's offence had been punishable by the old law, damages to the party, and of a fine to the King; but, while scores, and even hundreds upon hundreds have been hanged for similar offences, it would have been partiality most shameful; it would have been tyranny downright to have spared this Quaker at the solicitation of those very men, who have seen so many victims sacrificed for what they call *trade and credit*, and who have never in any one instance uttered a word with a view of saving their lives. How many young men, bankers' clerks, merchants' clerks, brewers' clerks; young men exposed to temptations daily and hourly almost irresistible; young men urged on by wants created by the vicious education arising out of the sys-

tem, and by the squandering example of their employers, whom they daily see, not absolutely committing forgery, but doing things far from being totally unallied with it. How many of these young men, tempted by their passions, by their ardent affections, sometimes even by their virtues, their tenderness for their parents, their wives, or their children; how many scores and hundreds of these unfortunate young men have we seen swinging to the ignominious tree, without exciting amongst these *respectable* people of the City any more sympathy, than they would have expressed for the hanging up of so many cats! And now, because an individual appertaining to an opulent sect of pretenders to purity, to a sect who has it in its power, whether it exercised it or not, to extort the signature of hundreds of miserable discounters; are we now, or *am I* at any rate now, to join in a species of humane and clamorous lamentation, and to join in reproaches against the Government, because it has refused to relax the law in favour of this their protected individual! Never was morality sounder than that which is inculcated by the two lines which I have chosen for the motto to this paper. *Injustice* might change names very well with *partiality*. Laws may be very *severe*, and yet the execution of them *just*; but, if they be not impartially administered, the injustice of them cries aloud to heaven for vengeance. If men are not to find just arbitrators in the King's Courts and in his Council, where are they to look for them? They can find such no where, if they can find them not here. God knows, the rich and the richly connected will always have, in spite of every thing that the best of governments can do, an advantage but too great over the poor; but, at any rate, when the government firmly does its duty, it is the duty of every man to stand by the government; and I repeat, that if the government had given way upon this occasion; if it had suffered itself to be whined and wheedled from the path of its duty; if it had, for the sake of currying favour with a combination of opulent people, it would have deserved the execration of

us all, and it should have had my execration as distinctly as I should have dared to express it.

In conclusion, I repeat, I have always detested the sanguinary code that punishes forgery with death; I will join any body in a petition to abolish that code; but I repeat also, that I know that bank-notes and kite-flying form a system which is not to be supported without the blood of forgers; and let me hear no man, who is an advocate for this system of funds and paper-money, tell me that he shudders at the thought of taking away the life of man. Never before did this Society of Quakers petition to save the life of a forger; and, therefore, if they now experience the pain and mortification, which they naturally must experience upon this occasion, let them think of their past conduct, and find therein what consolation they may.

There is another crime, not wholly unknown to the system, which is first cousin to forgery, and is, in my opinion, of a much deeper die; that is to say, setting a forger deliberately to work to get money from other people, to receive that money from them, to pocket the money, and then to aid him in his escape. This was committed by a set of ruffians in America at the time when I was there in the year 1819. The forger, who was, I believe, an Englishman, and whose name I think was HARDY, was in debt to a *house*, as they call it, of very cunning fellows, who threatened to seize upon his shop and his goods. In order to save himself, he committed forgeries upon persons in PHILADELPHIA and NEW YORK, and thereby raised money to pay his debts. The creditors knew that he had committed the forgery; they had proof, not that would have hanged him, because forgery is not in that country punished with death; but they had proof that would have convicted him of forgery; they suppressed the knowledge of this proof; they took in payment of their debt money which he had obtained by the means of the forgery; they then gave him money for his shop and his goods, and favoured his flight to Canada; by means of which the villain

escaped five years' imprisonment at hard labour in the jail of PHILADELPHIA. The parties who had favoured his flight, and who had suppressed the knowledge of his offence, were indicted for conspiracy to defraud; but being rich, they hushed the matter up, making compensation to the parties who had been defrauded by the forgery. And, must not that be unjust law, which would suffer these men to escape condign punishment, when it would have punished the poor forger with such severity?

There is only one step from this last-mentioned offence down to that of the creditors of a banker, or any other man, who *props* such man up for awhile (*knowing him to be insolvent*), in order that he may be able to pay them out of the money which their *propping up* has enabled him to get into his hands, *belonging to other people*. But, this, too, is a part of the paper-money system; and, as long as this system last, this will go on. The system entire must proceed, or be destroyed altogether; and, that this latter may speedily take place, is the constant and earnest prayer of

WM. COBBETT.

TO

JOHN LAWLESS, Esq.

Barn-Elm Farm, 10th December, 1828.

SIR,

YOUR Letter, addressed to me, dated 1st December, 1828, and published the other day in THE MORNING HERALD, would have remained wholly unnoticed by me if you had not written to me by post, requesting me to insert it in the Register. I am not bound by any principle that ever guided the publisher of a paper to copy from other papers; and I do this, in this particular case, only because you wrote to me to request it. Since, however, I have determined to insert your letter, I think it right to make some observations upon it; but I also think it right to say, that this is the very last time that I will, at any such length, or with any degree of seriousness, notice any thing that shall reach me, whether in print or in manuscript, if it come from either of the Catholic

Associations, or from any member of either.

You begin your very long letter by complaining, that I inserted Mr. HUNT's letter without inserting yours, which was a reply to that letter. While every reasonable man will allow that I was at perfect liberty to act as I pleased in this respect, you having addressed nothing to me. I myself know, that if I were to subject myself to what you call "a clear stage," my Register would very soon contain nothing but the never-ending-wranglings of the Dublin Association; and, as I have no desire to be quite extinguished, and have some hope yet to keep alive, in spite of the efforts of you and your associates to the contrary, I am under the absolute necessity, in order to have a chance of gratifying that hope, not only of placing a limit to those of your lucubrations which are inserted by me, but of putting an end to such insertion altogether. For, hard as it may be for you to believe; incredible as it may appear to the illustrious Association, people here will not read; they will not only not attend to, but they will not read, any thing more about your proceedings. They have made up their minds, Catholics as well as Protestants, that you have now given proof of the truth of what BURDETT said of you twenty-one years ago; namely, "that the leaders of the Catholic lie, under a pretence for religion, are seeking for a share of the common spoil." With this preface, and with a clear understanding that I will insert no other letter from you or from any of the Association, and with an apology to my readers for doing it now, and for dwelling upon a subject which has become perfectly disgusting to the whole country, I here insert your letter, in which, if you have not taken your *full swing*, there are no pages, though as broad as the table on which I write, that can ever satisfy your desires in this respect. You have here said all that you can say, and all that you can think of, injurious to me. I put it before the public for this time; but, any new editions of it, any haggusses or fricos made up out of this stale dish, shall never be served up to

the public by me. The Catholic Question, as it is called, is *settled* for this country. The recent conduct of O'CONNEL, and the uses to which the rent is obviously put, the expending (according to your own accounts) eleven thousand pounds in one week, on an election, which it is now become manifest to the whole world, was a fraud, and intended to be a fraud, has *settled* the Catholic Question, as far as relates to this country; and if that had not done it, the sham speech of "your countryman" SHEIL,—that gross piece of imposture by which almost all the London Newspapers and the whole nation were imposed upon for three days; if the question had not been settled, this piece of imposture would have settled it. Therefore, the people here will not listen to the subject any more; and I repeat, that, except I should happen to receive more "*good news from Italy*," and should have, thereupon, to congratulate your associate BARRETT, or others; or, except the "member for Clare" and his delegates should happen to attract public attention, I never will again insert any thing, whether from print or manuscript, that shall proceed from either of the Catholic Associations. And now for your Letter.

1. Sir,—Though your last *Register* is dated the 29th instant, I take up my pen on this day, the 1st of December, to reply to the questions it contains. You will therefore conclude, I have lost no time in satisfying you and my readers of my anxiety to give you such an answer to the queries you have put, as I trust will demonstrate that I am not unworthy of the title you are pleased to give me of "*Honest Jack Lawless*;" but, before I proceed to answer the questions you have put to me, why not give me the opportunity of heading my present letter with the line "*Honest William Cobbett*?" Why refuse to give me a clear stage and no favour for the opinions, whatever they be, which I maintain? Why not give my reply to Mr. Hunt's letter, which appeared in a late number of *The Morning Herald*, as well as the letter of Mr. Hunt to me, which reply, if I do not deceive myself, your candour will admit *satisfactorily* refutes every position laid down by your friend Mr. Hunt? This is not fair, nor am I to be told that my reply was not inserted, because not sent to your *Register* by me. You were aware, I will take for granted, I put my reply in *The Morning Herald*; and I repeat it, it was unworthy of a candid mind, to refuse me the advantage of

its publication in the *Register*. "Honest Jack Lawless," would not thus act by William Cobbett; but this circumstance shall not prevent me *fully, fairly, and unequivocally* answering all your queries, which I now shall do in consecutive and regular order. Your first question to me is to the following effect:—

2. No. 1. Did you, or did you not say in my presence, that, in the room of the Deputation which came to London in 1825, you laboured for three successive days, to prevail on Burdett and O'Connell, and particularly the *former*, to dissuade them from the project of disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders?

3. Answer—*I did*; and I will add a circumstance which, perhaps, I did not state at the time—namely, that so earnest was my zeal in endeavouring to persuade Sir Francis Burdett to retrace his opinion on the subject of the disfranchisement of the Irish forty-shilling freeholders, that Mr. O'Connell expressed his apprehensions I would *tear the buttons* off of Sir Francis's coat. I confess nothing surprised me more than to hear Sir Francis Burdett, the uniform advocate of *universal suffrage*, advocating a principle which went to deprive my poor countrymen of the only political privilege they enjoyed, the only power which made them formidable to their enemies, or respected by their friends; but in justice to the Baronet I must say, that he observed at the time, "As I cannot, Mr. Lawless, extend the principle of universal suffrage, which I would wish to put into general operation, I must only endeavour to narrow the franchise to such a circle as will give some security for the *purity and integrity* of its exercise." This reasoning I did not well comprehend, knowing from experience, as the observation of all countries, that the more circumscribed the franchise, the more corrupt *invariably* its exercise. I could not convince Sir Francis. I continued to pull his buttons to *little purpose*, and he adhered to his opinion. So much for your *first* query;—now for your second. You ask, "Did you or did you not say, in my presence, that you asked Sir Francis whether he himself could ever be Member for Westminster, if it had not been for the poor inhabitants of that city?" You go on—"Did you or did you not say, in my presence, that he answered that it was not the poor people of Westminster who put him in, but the rich." I answer, "I have a perfect recollection that *such was the language* of Sir Francis Burdett; to which I immediately replied with strong expressions of surprise; and I added, at the moment, that I was always led to believe that the humbler classes of householders in Westminster were ever his best and most zealous supporters." You ask, thirdly, "Did you or did you not say, in my presence, that you asked him whether he would, if he could, abolish all the *forty-shilling freeholders of England*; and that he answered, he would if he could?" No—Sir Francis *did not* allude to the forty-shilling freeholders of England.

He said, he would if he could, from the information he had received from individuals he considered well informed, *disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland*; and in justice to the Honourable Baronet it is but fair to state that the opinions he gave to me with regard to the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland seemed to be grounded on the information of those Irish Deputies, whom he considered well informed on the subject. You ask, in your fourth query, "Do you or do you not profess to be a *Radical Reformer*; and have you, or have you not, since 1825, joined in *repeated* votes of thanks to this very Burdett?" I am a Radical Reformer, and I am a Constitutional because I am a Radical Reformer—and I joined in frequent votes of thanks to Sir Francis Burdett, not because he has departed from the broad and comprehensive principle of Radical Reform (as is alleged against him), but because he has uniformly advocated the emancipation of my Catholic countrymen, giving to the cause the splendour of great talents, and the weight of high character. You, Mr. Cobbett, are now the *enemy* of Catholic emancipation, under the flimsy contemptible pretext that the *establishing of Poor Laws*, and a *diminution of the exactions*, are the only remedies for the misfortunes of Ireland; and yet, if a vote of thanks were proposed to you to-morrow, for your admirable work of the History of the Reformation, I would cheerfully vote for it. I would not suffer the thousand *inconsistencies* and *contradictions* of Mr. Cobbett's character to obliterate from my mind the immortal services he rendered to the cause of truth and justice in his excellent and able work of the History of the Reformation. No, nor would I suffer the coldness and indifference lately manifested by Sir Francis Burdett in the cause of Radical Reform to sink into oblivion his labours in the cause of Catholic emancipation. So much for your queries. I have answered them, I trust, *candidly and honestly*—not as the sycophant or *sneaking parasite* (a phrase *à la Cobbett*) of any man or set of men, but as a man always thinking for himself, and no more to be bullied by the vulgar artillery of the fish-market than seduced by the honeyed accents of the corrupt and the mean.

4. You, Mr. Cobbett, have put some questions to me, and I have answered them. Now, I will, in turn, beg leave to put a few to you. Were you, or were you not, the vindicator of the claims of Ireland to Catholic Emancipation for a series of years, when you were conscious the question of Reform was neither agitated nor understood by Ireland—nay, when Ireland *protested* against mingling the question of Reform and Emancipation together, and when not even an individual had the spirit to recommend the principle? Were you, or were you not, the unlimited abuser of that very *religion* of which you now profess to be the advocate? Were you, or were you not, the most formidable calumniator of that very

Papal authority, of which you are now the pauegyrist? I can well imagine that an honest man may change his mind according to the circumstances of the day in which he lives; but *what reason* can be given by you for being the enemy of *that* emancipation, of which, under worse circumstances, you were the ardent advocate? What is the difference between the present state and feeling of the Catholics of Ireland, and those by which they were distinguished in January, 1825? Were they more Reformers *then* than they are at present? No, nor so much. Were the Catholic aristocracy, or gentry, or Catholic bar, less influential in Catholic councils than they are now? Certainly not. The men who, in your letter to the Editor of *The Morning Herald* of the 26th ult., you describe as willing "to outbid all Protestants in the business of oppressing us, who would do the dirty work at a lower price," were fully as influential—nay, more so—in January 1825, than they are to-day; and yet how did you speak of these Catholic lords, and gentry, and barristers, in the month of January 1825? You then called on the Irish people not to mix their cause with *that of Reform*, and, with your accustomed ability, made the following appeal, "I perfectly agree with Mr. O'Connell, *that you should mix your cause up with nothing else*; that you should go steadily on, making your case known to the whole civilized world, and particularly to the people of England, whose prejudices, though deeply rooted, be you assured, will soon be removed; they will give way to the calls of truth and justice, and you will there find friends efficient and faithful." What, find a friend in William Cobbett if the Catholics refused to *mix their cause up with Reform in Parliament*? But you go on—"Proceed, Gentlemen of the Association, as you have begun; make your cause known to the world." But mark what flows from your pen in March 1825. I would be glad to see the Catholic, lawyer O'Connell not excepted, who would give a more correct detail of Catholic grievance and privation than you have done in the following passage:—"In Ireland the Catholics are excluded from being Sheriffs, from belonging to Corporations, from the Bar, all above King's Counsel inclusive, from the Bench, from all offices in Chancery, from the Privy Council, and from seats in both Houses of Parliament. It will be easily seen by every man of sense, *that while the whole of the governing powers are thus withheld from six millions of people, they must be a sort of outcasts*; and you will at once, without any detail of consequences being pointed out to you, perceive, that they cannot be *possibly* contented in this state." These words you addressed to the Electors of Westminster, in March 1825, and I should be glad to know could any Catholic barrister put up a more piteous complaint for the loss of office or station than you have done for him in these lines? If strong *then*, would they be weak *now*? Are not the privations the same, the dishonour the same,

and the evil results the same? and yet William Cobbett—*honest* William Cobbett—will not advocate Catholic emancipation, because the Catholic Association are not *all Radical Reformers*; or, rather, because the Catholic nobility and Catholic lawyers are contending, in 1828, for what William Cobbett wrote in 1825! These inconsistencies are miserably ridiculous. I flatter myself, though I know you are not much given to *blushing*, that you could not read this account of such political *backing out* without a blush. As Lord Liverpool said to our comical friend in Ireland, the Marquis of Londonderry, *it is too bad*—indeed it is melancholy to see great talents thus pandering to the most paltry passions—sacrificing character and fame to the gratification of individual revenge—forgetting the cause you have often so powerfully pleaded in your breathless anxiety to gain a triumph over an individual—cruelly disturbing the ashes of the dead, and wounding all moral and Christian feeling, to minister to a carnivorous appetite for political ascendancy. This is *disgraceful* to any man, but *damning* to a mind which should trample on such considerations, and show itself superior in magnanimity, as it decidedly is in great and exalted capacity. But the William Cobbett of 1825 shall not be forgotten. His councils shall be faithfully treasured up—his picture of Catholic grievances frequently contemplated. You have *latterly* often expostulated with the noise and violence, or what you are pleased to denominate *the bullying*, of the Catholic Association. Now, Sir, who instructed us in this course? who was the man to recommend a strong and energetic policy in the rooms of the Corn Exchange?—William Cobbett, with his own vigorous and peculiar force, thus admonishes the Catholic Association in his address to the Protestants of England, on the 21st of May, 1825:—"No Catholic can sit in either House of Parliament: this constitutes *the great grievance*. This is my advice to the Catholics:—I advise them by no means to give way to lamentation, and never again to think of obtaining redress *by humility*; their language ought to be *full of resolution*, not to say *indignation*; their wrongs are without a parallel in *duration* as well as in *magnitude*; meekness *never* yet softened the asperity of a wrongdoer, and my surprise is, that any thing like meekness should ever be apparent in the conduct of an Irish Catholic. The Catholics must *attack their foes*—reproach them with falsehood and malignity, and selfishness and hypocrisy; in every word and in every act they should convince their enemies that they are full of resentment; and that they will neglect no opportunity, approach them from whatever quarter it may, to qualify that just resentment. There are some wrongs that men may overlook altogether; and there are others which they may safely let pass with slight notice. *The wrongs* which the Catholics have endured, and which they still endure, are not of this character; they

are of a nature which makes it disgraceful to submit to without discovering the strongest disposition to avenge. Are there not the means in the possession of six or seven millions of Catholics to make their voice heard throughout this island? Every session of Parliament gives ample opportunity for statement on statement, calculated to produce general impressions; and if those opportunities be neglected, the sufferers will deserve their fate." Here is William Cobbett of 1825, urging on the Catholics of Ireland to language more violent, and conduct more energetic, than any they have ever adopted since that period; but, says Mr. Cobbett of 1828, the Catholic Association are now made up of trading lawyers, rhetorical flourishes, speculators on the Catholic Rent, the enemies of Parliamentary Reform, and the supporters of every public abuse. This, Mr. Cobbett, is a false description of the Catholic Association; that body enjoys the unlimited confidence of the Catholic people of Ireland; and this confidence they would not enjoy if it were true that they assembled together but to betray the people, and gamble on their credulity.

I trace your inconsistency, which I have proved, to your spirit of vengeance for what you considered ungrateful treatment on the part of the Catholic Association, and what I think entirely unworthy of the high character of that body; I mean the expulsion of your *Register* from the rooms of the Catholic Association. But is it because this indignity, the progeny of a generous sensibility to the fall of an unfortunate Irishman, was flung on you by a certain portion of the Association (for there was a great struggle in your favour), that you should turn round on your own principles, and do your utmost to raise the hue and cry of bigotry against the emancipation of an entire nation? Was it because O'Connell was your personal opponent that you should draw up the Brunswickers on the heath of Penenden against the liberty of Ireland?—Was it because you quarrelled with O'Connell, and Sheil, and O'Gorman, about the Wings, that you should assert that which is not founded in fact—namely, that the Reformers of England are adverse to the freedom of the Irish Catholic? Such acts must inevitably lower you in the estimation of the empire. You may be hereafter read by those who are capable of admiring a masterly style—a never-ending ingenuity; but, as to principle or consistency, they must look to some other work rather than to the pages of William Cobbett. I greatly lament this falling off—that argument is to succumb to scurrility—plain sterling sound reasoning to the phraseology and blackguarding of Fleet-market. Look at the foolish names you fling on our countryman, Mr. Sheil. Do you weakly imagine such idle epithets can reduce him in the estimation of Ireland, or of England either? Do you think the honest praise of one of the ablest and most respected men of

your country, Sergeant Denman, will be forgotten; or that the splendid eulogium pronounced by Mr. Jeremy Bentham on the performance at Penenden Heath will not weigh down the vulgar epithets you have been pleased to apply to Mr. Sheil, in your observations on Mr. Hunt's letter to me? I regret, I repeat it, this terrible falling off—I regret it, because I would wish to recal your mind and your pen to that course in which talents of the highest order would obtain their due praise, and the writer go down to posterity under the proud title of honest William Cobbett.—I remain yours, &c.

JOHN LAWLESS.

The first paragraph of your letter I have already disposed of. The second and third relate to the conduct of BURDETT, and to your conduct with regard to him. You acknowledge (and indeed you dared not deny it) that he proposed the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland; and that he said that he was not elected by the poor people of Westminster, but by the rich. Of this base ingratitude on his part, to say nothing of his shameless abandonment of all principle, you now say not a word; though in 1825, there was scarcely a term of reproach which you did not justly bestow upon him on these accounts. You know also, that he was for making us pay salaries to the Catholic bishops and priests of Ireland; and that he volunteered to be the mover of both the wings. You acknowledge (for that also you cannot deny) that you have joined in frequent votes of thanks to BURDETT since 1825: since he proposed the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland, and also the making of us pay salaries to the Catholic bishops and priests.

With regard to BURDETT's conduct, that remains now to be decided on by the people of Westminster, when he shall again dare to present himself before them in the open air. But, with regard to your vote of thanks to him that point can be immediately settled between you and me. You have made your defence; and I shall now show that defence is not worth a straw. Your reason for these servile votes of thanks, these base crouchings to the twenty thousand acres, this fine specimen of that independence which you would

fain have the public believe, you possess as well as profess: your reason for these votes of thanks to this grand disfranchiser, who was elected by the rich and not by the poor of Westminster, is, that BURDETT "has uniformly advocated the emancipation of my Catholic countrymen, giving the cause the "splendour of great talents and the "weight of high character." Now then, poor as this excuse is, it is wholly founded in falsehood. In the year 1807 he, in a written and afterwards published address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, said that the Catholic leaders were, under *pretence of religion*, seeking for a share of the *common spoil*, and had constantly in view the common object, public plunder. In 1812, he, in his place in Parliament, called Catholic Emancipation an "*annual farce*," and said that he would not give it the countenance of his presence; and thereupon walked out of the house. This is his *uniformity* as an advocate for Catholic Emancipation; and this you knew, as well as you do now, when you were joining in the servile and base votes of thanks before mentioned.

But, was he advocating the cause of Catholic Emancipation when you were tearing the buttons off his coat to make him desist from taking away from the Catholics of Ireland what you yourself called the most precious of their possessions, and the only atom of liberty that they yet possessed? Was their uniform advocate of the twenty thousand acres, then pleading the cause of Catholic Emancipation? Was it to *emancipate* the Catholics, that he wished to take from them, and that he was so resolutely bent in taking from them, the only thing that distinguished them from absolute slaves? He is now, what you call the advocate for Catholic Emancipation; or, he was such, at least eight or nine months ago; though I very much question whether he be such now, even though tempted by the hope of another vote of thanks by you. A circular paragraph in the newspapers told us some time ago, that he was about to publish his speech in favour of Catholic Emancipation, in the form of a pam-

phlet, "*addressed to the people of Westminster*;" and, he might really believe on a Monday, that he was about to do this; but, if the thing were not executed before the Wednesday night, never would it be executed by him. Since that time, he has seen more than sufficient reason to prevent the execution of his intention. PENENDEN HEATH was the place where he ought to have appeared, and where, your poor brother SHEIL was left to foam and bawl without a single soul to stand by him: not a man amongst all your powerful friends, amongst all your men of splendid talents and high character, was even *seen*, much less heard, to utter one syllable in support of your cause. Not a man of these, whom you cover with disgusting praises and with pompous votes of thanks, ever went near your unfortunate brother while he was in England. After the detection of his fabricated speech, no decent person could be expected to approach him; but even before that detection took place, none of your friends, no, not even Mr. DENMAN, whom you take occasion to praise, would venture to be represented to have been in company with that man. DENMAN seems to have thought, when he received the invitation to the dinner, that there would be other "*powerful friends*" there as well as himself. But, finding that all the rest shunned the scene, he, though he had accepted the invitation, sent a bit of paper to occupy the place, which he ought to have occupied himself.

All this while, BURDETT was snugly at Paris. Mr. HUNT could come expressly from Paris to be at the meeting. You will say, perhaps, that the BARONET'S extreme anxiousness; his vast affection for wife and family, who were in France, form a sufficient excuse; and, while I by no means question the propriety of the defence, I am afraid that it will suggest to us, to lament that celibacy does not prevail amongst politicians, as well as amongst priests. There he was, however, and there he is, snugly at Paris, where, the newspapers tell us, he has *taken a house*! It must give him great pain to be absent so long from the *rich people*

of Westminster that elect him, and from you, who vote him such loads of thanks, and especially in these times of your trial and tribulation. However, he has a good twenty thousand acres of land, which will always, in your eyes, give him "*splendid talents and high character.*" I venture upon a prediction here, Mr. LAWLESS; and that is, if O'CONNELL and his delegates or "*missionaries,*" or whatever other name stupidity or ignorance may give them, should happen to come to England, BURDETT will, if he possibly can, take care not to be in England, while they are here. To the meeting of Parliament, he will, probably, think it prudent to come; but, until that takes place, come he will not, while he can possibly be called upon by the Irish missionaries; and as to defending O'CONNELL for his conduct at Clare, which conduct you so applaud, never will such defence come from the lips of BURDETT.

When accused of inconsistency in supporting O'CONNELL, after his projects of disfranchisement and of salaries to the priests of 1825, your answer is, that O'CONNELL has repented of that; that he has openly confessed his sins; that he has made atonement as far as he can. This is not true; for he has always qualified his repentance, and has never distinctly confessed his sin of having proposed to give salaries to the priests. However, your defence rests upon the assumption of his complete repentance and atonement. Now, then, **HAS BURDETT EVER REPENTED?** Answer that question before you again talk of your consistency. He has never unsaid what you reproach him for saying; he has never given us to understand that he would *not now* disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders if he could; and that he would not *now*, if he could, make the people of England pay taxes to give salaries to the Catholic bishops and priests of Ireland. And, yet, you cover him with votes of thanks, you call him your advocate, and extol the splendid talents and high character of the twenty thousand acres. The recantation, the repentance, the

begging pardon of God, on the part of the "**MEMBER OF CLARE,**" are so many cutting libels on the *Member for Westminster*, who has never repented or begged pardon at all. In short, BURDETT is a rich man, and you, like all the rest of your associates, have praises in heaps to bestow upon him; and, if he were again to propose to disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland you would still find out some good and sufficient reason for praising him. It is this trait in your characters of which we are justly so much afraid. We see proof upon proof that you would be servile tools in the hands of power; that you would under-bid Protestants to carry on the work of taxing, grinding, and of enslaving us; we see that in the face of power, principle takes its flight from your minds; and therefore, until we have a parliament which we deem sufficient to protect us, tools of power you shall not be, if I have the means of preventing it.

In speaking of the conduct of BURDETT with regard to Parliamentary Reform, you wish to have it to be a matter of doubt whether he have abandoned that cause or not. You say, "I joined in votes of thanks to him not because he has departed from the broad and comprehensive principle of Radical Reform as is *alleged against him.*" So, bold Mr. LAWLESS, fearless Mr. LAWLESS, *independent* and "*honest JACK LAWLESS,*" you, bold man, have been living somewhere in a state of too great obscurity to have been able to inquire into the truth of this allegation! You, bold and *independent* man, never heard that the twenty thousand acres stuck its collective knees in the back of CANNING, and, after hearing that frothy son of the *green room* declare (he being *Prime Minister*) that he would resist parliamentary reform to the last hour of his political life, in *whatever shape that reform might appear.* You never heard, you bold and independent man never heard, that the twenty thousand acres, immediately afterwards, took their knees from the back of the spouter, and stood up and said that they, collected in the person of the **BARONET**, would support

their Right Honourable Friend. You had never heard of this, you, so honest a radical reformer, so stanch and so true, had never heard of these things when you were afterwards voting thanks to the twenty thousand acres and eulogies on the memory of Canning.

I now come to the fourth paragraph of your letter, the object of which is to convict me of inconsistency, the old cuckooing of all the fools whose folly I have exposed, and of all the knaves whose roguery I have detected. BURDETT at one of his toad-eating dinners, observed, while alluding to me, that no one could say, at any rate, that he was not a consistent politician. You vote the dear fellow thanks upon thanks; for, though you hear him accuse the Catholic leaders of being in search of the common spoil in 1807; though you hear him several years afterwards, calling Catholic Emancipation an annual farce; though you hear him maintaining, for twenty-seven years, that there can be no good without a radical reform, and hear him at the end of the twenty-seven years to propose to disfranchise the poor freeholders of Ireland, and after that stick his knees in the back of CANNING and declare that he will support him, though the impudent and frothy son of the green room has, but one minute before, declared that he would resist Parliamentary Reform to the last hour of his life, in whatever shape it may appear. Though you see and hear all this, you servile creature, assuming a sham tone of independence and honesty, can laud the twenty thousand acres to the skies, while you have the effrontery to babble about the "inconsistency," as you call it, of the absence of the twenty thousand acres! You would do well to publish a scale for the regulation of your praises, which are commonly denominated *blarney*. Three or four thousand acres, might entitle a man to the character of possessing splendid talents; and so on, till it got to the twenty thousand; when the whole bundle of *blarney* might be laid on him: illustrious, splendid, and all the rest of it.

But come, Mr. LAWLESS, Mr. *Independence*, let us hear what you have to

say upon the subject, of what you call my inconsistency. In few words, your charge is this: *That I was formerly the advocate for Catholic Emancipation, unaccompanied with a reform of Parliament; and that now I am opposed to it, unaccompanied with a reform of Parliament.* First of all, however, your ingratitude, your base ingratitude, if you really be a Catholic, suggests to you to find an *inconsistency* in me, because I was formerly an abuser of the Catholic religion, and a disapprover of the authority of the Pope; and that, more recently, I have done justice to the Catholic religion, and written in favour of the authority of the Pope, as formerly exercised. In the indulgence of your ingratitude, however, you seem to have gone so far as to frighten yourself; and you observe, that an *honest man may change his opinions*. You might have gone on to observe that there was an instance of this, and a very striking one, in the case of the "Member for Clare," who, in his evidence before the Parliament, represented the forty-shilling freeholder, as being little better, if any better, than beasts; and who has since called them by every name expressive of respect towards them. But, there is this difference between me and the *Member for Clare*, that I was in an error, imbibed with my mother's milk; that I made atonement for that error as soon as I discovered it; and that I had and could have no possible motive for the change of opinion, other than that of a love of truth and justice. While, on the other hand, the "Member for Clare," whom you, independent and honest man, never think of accusing of inconsistency, was bred in an error from his youth, with regard to forty-shilling freeholders, and with regard to the "binding of the priests to the government by a golden chain;" that he was long before he retracted his error, or rather his perfidy; and that he retracted it at last, from fear of being hunted out of society, from fear of losing his briefs, and from losing the chance of gratifying his ambition as well as his avarice. All this you know as well as I do; and yet, while you have the ingratitude to endeavour to lessen me by a charge of incon-

sistency, you lie like a mouse in a cheese, in the presence of this hectoring demagogue; and, though you clearly see his views, you have not the honesty to make even an effort to expose them.

You assume that I am an enemy to Catholic Emancipation *now*; that is to say, of a measure which would put Catholics, as to civil right, upon the same footing with Protestants; and this you assume in the face of the notorious fact, that I am a firm friend of the measure, provided it be accompanied with Parliamentary Reform. Perceiving this, though assuming the contrary, you next resort to passages of my writings in order to show, that I was a friend to what you call Emancipation unaccompanied with reform, and that I now insist upon reform preceding this thing which you call emancipation. You choose the year 1825, whence to draw your pretended proofs of inconsistency. You skip backward and forward, from *March* to *January*, and then back again from *January* to *May*, and then back again from *March* to *January*. You seem totally regardless of *dates*, though months, and even days of months, were of the greatest importance in the question which you had to discuss. You say that in the month of *January*, and with that disingenuousness which marks the whole of your letter, you suppress the day of the month; you say that I advised the Irish *people* (though the letter was addressed solely to the *Catholic Association*), to proceed as they had begun. You say that I tell them, not to mix their cause up with that of *Parliamentary Reform*. This is neither more nor less than a plain, "honest," blunt, independent, and most impudent falsehood. The passage was this, in the *Register*, volume fifty-three, page 19. "I perfectly agree with Mr. O'CONNELL that you should mix your cause up with nothing else; that you should go steadily on making your case known to the whole of the civilized world; and particularly to the people of England, whose prejudices, though deeply rooted, will, be you assured, be soon removed. They will give way to the calls of Truth and Justice, and you will here find friends efficient

and faithful. In the meanwhile, *temperate* discussion, industrious exposure, facts judiciously collected and arranged, and circulated in the most extensive manner, will be the most effectual means that you can employ." This was the advice which I gave you on the first of *January* 1825, which was the date of the publication of the letter; and, though you will pretend that to advise you to mix up your cause with *nothing* else, was to advise you not to mix it up with Parliamentary Reform, every one will perceive the wide difference between the two, and will say Amen to my charge against you of wilful falsehood; and let it be observed that this is the only passage that you can muster up to torture into any thing like a proof of my inconsistency.

The truth is, that at the time here referred to, a reform was not a subject upon the tapis. We talked of your cause independently of Parliamentary Reform. All the passages that you refer to, and all of which you *garble*, in my writings of *March* and *May* of that year, dwelt solely upon the injustice of excluding Catholics from civil rights; but, in this very month of *March*, of which you talk so much, those transactions took place, which changed the complexion of the whole affair; for then came to light the vile bargain for selling the franchises of the forty-shilling freeholders, for binding the priests to the Government by a golden chain, and for abrogating in effect the authority of the Pope, and for destroying the Catholic religion in Ireland. You quote a passage from the *Register* published on the 21st *May* of that year, in order to show that I was still a friend of Catholic emancipation, but you carefully suppress the fact, that I was then continually protesting against any emancipation unaccompanied with reform. But, if you had wanted a proof that I was still a friend of Catholic emancipation, as you call it, why not go to the fifteenth number of the *Protestant Reformation*, published on the 3rd *January*, 1826. There the case of the Catholics is stated in the fullest manner, and their cause maintained with all the ability of which I was master; and, while I was there

insisting on the justice of restoring Catholics to their rights, I stated no condition relative to Parliamentary Reform. But, was it to be implied from this, that I had abandoned the cause of reform; and was it not rather to be concluded, that in accordance with all that I had ever written before upon the subject, I look upon reform as absolutely necessary, as something to proceed or to accompany this putting the Catholic aristocracy and lawyers into power. Is not then the WILLIAM COBBETT of 1825, the WILLIAM COBBETT of 1826 and 1828; and where is that inconsistency, which you, for the manifest purpose of making your court to the tyrannical dictator, now affect to have discovered in me.

The plain state of the case is this: I always regarded a restoration of the Catholics to their rights as a thing which never could take place without a Parliamentary Reform. I said this distinctly in the year 1824, and that too upon several occasions, before I began to write the *Protestant Reformation*; but in contending for the rights of the Catholics, I did not think it necessary to couple, upon every occasion, their cause with the cause of reform. I never said that it would be desirable to restore them to their rights first, but I never, upon any occasion, threw out even a hope, until a reform should take place. I did not always, before March 1825, insist upon the necessity of reform *preceding* what you call emancipation; but but while it was always fairly to be inferred from the whole of my writings upon the subject, I have constantly since the disfranchising project was broached, and so narrowly escaped consummation, insisted upon the necessity of a previous reform, to protect us against the additional oppression which every man apprehends from an influx of the Catholic aristocracy and lawyers.

You conclude by imputing this *inconsistency*, as you call it, to my revenge against O'CONNELL and some other persons, on account of their having expelled, as you call it, my Register from the rooms of your Association. For my part, I only heard of this by accident, and do not recollect when it took place. But,

it would appear from what you say, that it took place since the death of "*our own Bric*," as that foolish fellow BARRETT calls him; which took place, if I recollect rightly, some time in the year 1827. Indeed I now remember it did take place in 1827. Now, please to recollect that I had amply paid off "*Big O*" in the month of August 1825; for you must recollect when the chairs and tables danced about the room, being thereunto moved by his splendid eloquence. From that time, to the month of July last, I scarcely ever mentioned the name of O'CONNELL. He had caused a letter to be handed to me *after the publication of the Comedy*, signifying his wish to have a personal reconciliation with me, which I *declined*, observing that I bore him no ill-will, and *thought it very likely I should never have to mention his name again as long as I lived*. So that, if it be revenge against him which has animated me now, my revenge has been very drowsy and sluggish at any rate.

But, where was this revenge, when I, the moment he went to CLARE and declared himself a radical reformer, called upon the reformers of England to support him, and declared my firm resolution to support him myself to the utmost of my power. Taught caution, however, by his conduct of 1825, I subjoined the condition that he *came immediately* to fulfil his promises made at CLARE. He did not comply with the condition: his subsequent conduct has proved him to have been a wilful deceiver, or a fool too great to be trusted by any body; and therefore, I am now strengthened in my conviction that he and his associates have that same plunder in view, which BURDETT in 1807 said that they had in view, and it is my duty to prevent them from accomplishing their purpose, in whatever degree prevention may be in my power. He deceived the people of Clare; he declared in the most solemn manner that, if they elected him, he could and would take his seat; and this declaration he made "on the word" and honour of a gentleman and a "lawyer." He will never take his seat; he will never attempt to take his seat; and, if the whole body of the

Association did not consist of men the most slavish or the most barefacedly impudent that ever was seen assembled on the face of the earth, they would quit instantly; for they, and you amongst the rest, are now pretending that Catholics *can legally sit in Parliament without any alteration in the law*, while you send to PENENDEN HEATH one of your Members to beseech the people of England to consent to the passing of a law, to enable Catholics *legally to sit in Parliament!*

To impudence like this no answer, no notice is due. It is the duty of every man to treat it with scorn and derision, and to do the utmost in his power to prevent the impudent parties from possessing the means of exercising authority of any and of every description.

You have now, Mr. LAWLESS, got the answer which you were so anxious to obtain; and, my readers may be satisfied that their time will never again be occupied by me, not only at such length as this, but at no length at all, with serious discussion relative to the Catholic Associations. Their cause is now well understood; every one sees their conduct to the bottom; more words are not necessary relating to it; and more words on the subject, my readers shall not have from

WM. COBBETT.

BLACK WALNUT PLANK.

I HAVE a quantity of plank four inches thick, and of various lengths and widths of this wood, which I have imported for the purpose of sale, and in order to show what excellent and beautiful wood it is. An account of this wood will be seen in paragraph 553 of *THE WOODLANDS*. The wood is of a dark colour, very nearly resembling mahogany; and is fit for all sorts of furniture, such as tables, chairs, bedsteads, and the like. MICHAUX says, that it is very strong, very durable if exposed to the influence of heat or moisture; not liable to warp or split, and its grain is sufficiently fine and compact to admit of a beautiful polish, to which advantage it adds, that of remaining always secure from worms. This wood is to be seen in my yard at

KENSINGTON. Every plank bears the mark of its measure: the price is a shilling a foot for the whole lot; or, fifteen-pence a foot, if only a plank or two be taken. It is not brittle stuff like our WALNUT, and would make fine and beautiful doors in particular. There is a specimen of the wood to be seen in Fleet Street, sawed out and polished. Any person that would save me trouble by taking the whole lot together, may have it something below the price which I have above mentioned, ready money, as I have too much to do to keep accounts whenever it can be avoided. I think there is altogether about two thousand five hundred feet; but it has been regularly measured and marked before it came from America, where the measure is the same as it is here, unless our imperial measure may have been induced by the workings of the pendulum to make our foot longer or shorter than that of the Yankees.—Any bargain relating to this wood will be made, and the money paid, at No. 183, Fleet Street.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

For the reasons fully stated in a former Register, I cannot receive any letter, two, three-penny, or general, that does not come free of postage. Correspondents in the country will remember, that it is necessary to direct their letters to No. 183, Fleet Street, otherwise, the postage to London will not clear me.—I have been compelled to resort to this mode of protecting myself against robbery the most base and very extensive.

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Dedicated to the Council and Professors of the London University, by JAMES MORISON, the Hygeist.

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